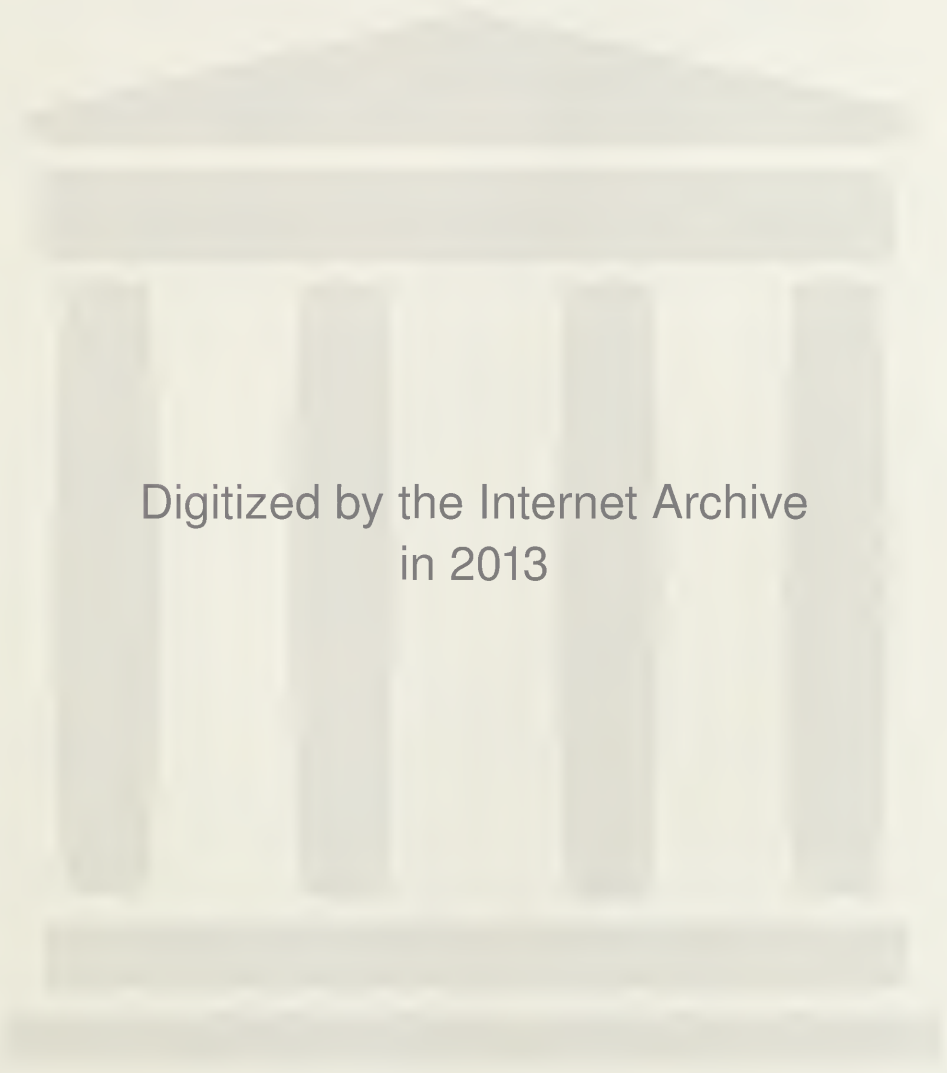
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STUDIES

IN
THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

Myths That Shape Us

Jesuit Beliefs about the Value of Institutions

THOMAS M. LANDY, S.J.

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26/5 · NOVEMBER 1994

THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

A group of Jesuits appointed from their provinces in the United States.

The Seminar studies topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially American Jesuits, and communicates the results to the members of the provinces. This is done in the spirit of Vatican II's recommendation that religious institutes recapture the original inspiration of their founders and adapt it to the circumstances of modern times. The Seminar welcomes reactions or comments in regard to the material that it publishes.

The Seminar focuses its direct attention on the life and work of the Jesuits of the United States. The issues treated may be common also to Jesuits of other regions, to other priests, religious, and laity, to both men and women. Hence, the studies, while meant especially for American Jesuits, are not exclusively for them. Others who may find them helpful are cordially welcome to read them.

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Thomas M. Landy, S.J.

STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

26/5: November 1994

FAITH BEYOND JUSTICE

WIDENING THE PERSPECTIVE

by

Martin R. Tripole, S.J.

This book examines – in a way both sympathetic and critical – the "faith and justice" motif that has dominated talk of apostolate and spirituality in many contemporary circles. The author concludes that, while noble and inspiring, the notion of "justice" is inadequate to handle the burden that many of its advocates would have it carry. He then suggests an alternative criterion for apostolic choices in the twentieth century and beyond.

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For your information . . .

Nicolás Bobadilla, that gadfly among the ten founding fathers of the Society of Jesus, referred to the Constitutions of the Society as a labyrinth in which one becomes lost in redundant developments that neither superiors nor subjects will ever be able to understand.

Bobadilla was wrong about the basic character of the Constitutions. But he was right about the "complexity and originality of the text," as Father General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach said in referring to Bobadilla's remark. Father General also said that St. Ignatius was fully aware of that complexity and originality. Both of those characteristics arose in part because Ignatius's Constitutions, unlike those of other religious orders, were structured around "a progressive incorporation of members into the apostolic body of the Society." Ignatius did not want the Constitutions to be published simply as a printed document. He had Laínez present the draft text personally to the Jesuits there in Rome and sent Ribadeneira to explain it to those in northern Italy, and he would not allow it to be sent to India until it could go there in the hands of someone who would himself explain the text.

So now, the members of the Society who will make up the Thirty-fourth General Congregation have as one of their major responsibilities the attempt to help make those Constitutions refer as vividly as possible to the "concrete personal life of the Society." Three ways in which they hope to take into account the lived experience of the Society and the priceless heritage of the Constitutions are the following proposals that will come to the congregation for decisions and follow-up.

First, a series of notes to the Constitutions will be proposed that will clearly point out any text in which the literal provisions have been abrogated, for example, by universal Church law or by changing circumstances (for instance, the provision in ¶575 that "in the houses of the Society ordinarily no mount will be kept for any member of the Society, either superior or subject"), or which have been modified, or of which the meaning has been officially declared or clarified.

Secondly, at each provision of the Constitutions where it is appropriate will be placed a norm or norms complementary to that text and drawn from our life and our legislation.

Third, henceforth the Constitutions with its notes and with the complementary norms will always be published together. One way that this might be carried out is for the Constitutions themselves and their notes to be printed on one page and for the complementary norms to be printed on the facing page exactly opposite the relevant provisions of the Constitutions.

As a result of this proposed work of the Congregation, we shall as Jesuits always have before us both the heritage of the Constitutions themselves as a document linked to our present apostolic lives and the current norms by which we live and work seen as rooted in the original text of Ignatius.

Meetings of delegates from each assistancy are at present taking place. At those meetings we have before us both a draft text of those notes and norms and the *relatio prævia,* or first draft of the reflections of the *cœtus prævius* (made up of congregation delegates from each assistancy) on the postulata from all over the Society.

So you see why this delegate to the congregation asks your prayers for himself and for all his fellow delegates in the months before and during the congregation, that the Spirit of God will be with us for light, courage, and decisions. And may Nicolás Bobadilla intercede for us with the Lord!

This November 1994 issue of STUDIES is the last in which the back cover will commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the life and work of the Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality and the publication of STUDIES. During this year STUDIES has attempted in its five issues to address matters of quite current concern and interest to United States Jesuits. The first issue, January 1994, "The Most Postmodern Prayer," dealt with that most fruitful item in Jesuit life itself, the examen of conscience/consciousness and its relation to American Jesuit identity over the last seventy years. In March we looked at "The Many Ways of Justice," a concern now long central to our identity and our work. May brought a consideration of individualism and self-transcendence in American life, as we are asked to live out a combination that flows from both our American character and our Jesuit vocation "To Fall in Love with the World." In September, the most recent past issue asked us in reflections on the vows to look at our vowed life in the context of the metaphor of "Stepping into the River." And this present November issue deals with Jesuit beliefs about the value of institutions. That is surely a topic appropriate to us in the United States, where so many of us carry out our apostolates in the context of institutions about which all of us, involved in institutions or not, are affected, in several senses of the word, by "Myths that Shape Us."

To our authors of this year as to those of the past twenty-five years, to all the Seminar members of all those years, to George E. Ganss, S.J., who originally undertook and then so successfully carried on the work of the Seminar for sixteen years, and finally to the group of American provincials who conceived of and then authorized the creation of the Seminar and the publication of STUDIES, we United States Jesuits owe a great debt of appreciation and gratitude. I am sure that I express here for all of us the thanks of the United States Assistancy for such a quarter-century gift.

John W. Padberg, S.J.
Editor

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Myths That Shape Us

Jesuit Beliefs about the Value of Institutions

I. Introduction

In *The Good Society* Robert Bellah and his collaborators suggest that while Americans "live by institutions," we have become suspicious of them. We no longer believe in the ability of our institutions to transform society or in our own capacity to alter institutions for the better.[1] Many social critics today share Bellah's lament, notably communitarians of one stripe or another, though they differ on the reason for our lack of institutional confidence.

On the surface at least, Americans do seem to be losing confidence in public institutions. Contemporary Americans are appallingly indifferent towards the democratic process. Voter participation among every demographic group is dishearteningly low, because, as voters claim, one politician is not much different from another.[2] The assertion is commonly heard that our public education, criminal justice, and health-care systems are failing at tasks which they should be able to handle. The vast majority of Americans claim to believe in God, yet a significant number of them spurn—or at least fail to see the need for—institutional religious commitments. In short, one might conclude, Americans in the post-Watergate, post-Vietnam era seem individualistic and cynical about their civic and religious institutions.

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[1] Robert Bellah et al., *The Good Society* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1991). See especially pages 3–51.

[2] Voter-registration rates made a notable turn in the 1992 presidential election. Nonetheless, they remain low compared to most Western democracies.

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More than most Americans, Jesuits "live by institutions." The majority of us even live at the institutions where we work, institutions which are generally construed as "ours," whatever that means today. Asked to explain who we are to those who know nothing about us, most Jesuits will quickly mention our schools or retreat houses as a point of reference. Our very identity as a society is established by the kind of institutions we run, giving us an unusually heavy stake in them. Throughout our history Jesuits have been clever at founding and reforming social institutions, notably educational ones, where we saw an opportunity to form young men during an important personal developmental transition in their lives. On a structural level, the Society itself is a key mediating institution, one that has helped guide the Church through massive cultural and intellectual changes in the modern era.

Like all institutional relationships, our relationship to "our" institutions is dialectical. We are shaped by the institutions at the same time we shape them. For many Jesuits the reshaping that our institutions impose on us is troubling. In recent years the meaning of our relationship to our apostolic institutions has become a sometimes neuralgic and perplexing concern, particularly as our numbers decline. In the face of that decline, some wonder if we can afford to shift most of our best men into institutional commitments, while others wonder if we can afford not to.

Two particular notions are often articulated. From older Jesuits I have often heard the claim that younger Jesuits (or the Society) have "abandoned" our institutions in favor of individualized pursuits. Younger Jesuits, and some who are not so young, have voiced suspicions that institutions do more to shape us than we can do to shape them; they dampen the vitality and vision of the Society. Some Jesuits have wondered aloud if our decline in numbers is a result of a commitment to stagnant institutions that cannot draw gifted young men to commit themselves to the Society. By freeing ourselves from all class-, race-, gender-, or tradition-bound institutional commitments, some men postulate, we could transform our mission to respond to the most pressing social and spiritual needs of our age. Might the Society find new growth and vitality again if it chose to abandon a large number of institutions and start afresh?

Bellah's critique of American society is that our increasing individualism and declining confidence in institutions tear at the fabric of society. In the face of society's growing complexity, he argues, institutions are more necessary than ever. In the broadest sense, institutions create the ecology that connects us to one another and provides contexts for meaning in our lives. They are sets of social and moral expectations between human beings. They are also the more concrete entities—families, churches, neighborhoods, workplaces, religious orders, schools, associations, unions—that mediate between our private and public lives. Evidence aplenty points to these institutions as the crucial, even

primary, means for guiding individuals and society through important transitions, helping people find their identity in society.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the attitude of Jesuits today towards our apostolic institutions; it aims to test how well the Bellah thesis of institutional abandonment articulates a particular problem facing the Society of Jesus in America today. As I shall make explicit, the Society has undergone a variety of changes that would make Bellah's explanation for abandonment ("Lockean utilitarian individualism") too simple. Indeed, our being able to think of institutions as "ours" differentiates Jesuits from most of the Americans about whom Bellah writes. But Bellah's nagging question remains: Have we abandoned our belief in the capacity of institutions to change society or in our ability to change the institutions?

I have set out to answer this question primarily by interviewing young Jesuits from various regions in the United States. To provide context, I attempt to identify some particular traits of Jesuit culture that shape our attitudes towards the institutions by which we identify ourselves. While American Jesuits are products of American culture, we are—Jesuit formation tries very hard for a dozen years to make us so—products of a strong Jesuit cultural formation. In my analysis and conclusions, I shall offer some thoughts on how the myth system embodied in formation affects our attitudes towards institutions in the current cultural and historical context.

1. The Myth That Shapes Us: Jesuit History and Spirituality

We have inherited a double legacy, a spiritual and historical defining myth that probably doesn't make our relationship any easier to solve but does help anchor our identity.

Ignatius and the early companions, of course, play the most significant role in defining the Jesuit myth, though the Society has an unusually strong tradition that supports and redefines the myth. Much as we use myths to describe what the core, immutable qualities of a society are, each generation reshapes the myth according to the values it finds most compelling. The myths in the Jesuit tradition are elastic enough to provide plenty of room for this.

"Myths," as I use the term here, are the accounts of human and social origins that bind societies and give them meaning, order, and a teleology. They purport to transcend the mutable and to describe the core values that describe what being and belonging mean in any society.[3] Jesuit myths need not be archetypal in the sense used by Carl Jung or Mircea Eliade. More simply, they

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[3] This definition is derived from Leszek Kolakowski, *The Presence of Myth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), chap. 1.

are historical interpretations of our founding intention and development, an attempt to derive the core value of what it means to be a Jesuit.

In important ways our Jesuit self-understanding is dominated by great men like Francis Xavier, Jacques Marquette, Matteo Ricci, José Anchieta, Peter Canisius, and a whole host of others remembered for their seemingly individual missionary achievements on behalf of the young Society. From the beginning the Society emphasized mobility as its cornerstone value and defined itself in contrast to monastic orders and their vows of stability.

Still, not long after its foundation, the Society established its own system of colleges throughout the world, institutions that effectively tied down many Jesuits for extended periods and became a particular source of pride—and vocations—for the Society. The proliferation of these institutions was undoubtedly based on some overriding belief that these were an exceptional opportunity to carry out the mission of the new Society. For most of the twentieth century, an even stronger institutional attitude dominated the Society, in the form of the myth that nourished some of us or caused others to rebel. It is by these institutions *and* our early focus on mobility that we judge ourselves.

a. The Early Society of Jesus

Ignatius's vision, we have all been taught, was inspired by great itinerant, mendicant preachers who shed worldly goods and ties and went out to preach with great fervor, free of all encumbrances. After his conversion Ignatius asked, "What if I should do as St. Francis did, as St. Dominic did?"[4] His subsequent actions over the next fifteen years reveal that Ignatius's image of "what these saints did" had nothing to do with founding orders, but with their itinerant preaching. Ignatius's primary goal was a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably with the aim of converting Muslims. He scrupulously avoided taking any companions, though along the way he developed a successful ministry of spiritual conversation. His vocation, wherever he went, was to talk to people about spiritual things. He desired to reform a convent to its primitive fervor[5] but, more significantly, spent that time composing the *Spiritual Exercises.*

The *Exercises* establish the personal, rather than social or institutional, focus of Ignatius's original mission. The explici purpose was "to seek and find the Divine Will as to the management of one's life for the salvation of the soul."[6] The early Society's self-identity reflected this perspective and extended the Exercises' mission as its own. The first companions came together to help

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[4] Ignatius of Loyola, *Autobiography,* ed. John C. Olin (New York, Harper Torchbooks, 1974), 23.

[5] Philip Caraman, *Ignatius Loyola* (San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1991), 43.

[6] Ignatius Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises,* trans. Elder Mullan, S.J., annotation 1.

people find the will of God in their lives. "The expression that best captures the self-definition of the first Jesuits was, in fact, 'the help of souls,'" says John O'Malley. "The *Autobiography* is filled with the phrase."[7] Ignatius trusted that conversion of the individual would necessarily lead to good results, including good works. The particular outcome was not up to the person giving the Exercises. It was left to the relation between the retreatant and God.

O'Malley asserts that, even after the companions banded together, Ignatius never set out to reform the Church or any other institutions in any significant way, though evidence abounds that he was aware of the Church's foibles. Some changes did result by good example, for instance, from the Jesuits' refusal to accept alms for hearing confessions. However, the charism of the Exercises, embodied in the early Jesuits, was still very much a personal one, "to help souls." Early Jesuits did not, for example, set out to transform or eliminate the benefice system,[8] nor was the Society founded to lead a "counter-reformation." When the Jesuits did speak of reform, "it referred to the change of heart effected in individuals through the *Spiritual Exercises* and other ministries in which Jesuits were engaged"[9] or to spiritual reform of convents and other religious houses.

Clearly, the early companions believed that the distinctive charism of their mission depended on mobility, the willingness and ability to go quickly wherever the greatest need was to be found. Nothing did more to transform the Society's identity and concept of ministry than the introduction of the schools in 1548. Schools called for continuity among faculty and militated against rapid turnover and sudden personnel changes. Suddenly, because of their apostolic commitments, men were less free to travel on short notice to new missions.

At the time of the founding of the first schools, Juan de Polanco articulated what became the dominant rationale for the next four hundred years of institutional involvement, the means of uniting the Exercises and the new ministries. "Those who are now only students will grow up to be pastors, civic officials, administrators of justice, and to fill important posts to everyone's profit and advantage."[10] In this sense, institutional presence was adapted to the charism

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[7] John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1991): 183.

[8] Caraman even points out that Ignatius encouraged offers of benefices and bishoprics as incentives to attend the German College in Rome. No doubt he trusted that men formed there would be good for the Church in Germany, but he does not seem to have given thought to the possibility that the benefice system was part of the problem. See Caraman, *Ignatius Loyola,* 169.

[9] O'Malley, *Was Ignatius,* 182.

[10] Ignatius of Loyola, *Epistolæ et instructiones,* Monumenta Ignatiana, vol. 29 of Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (Madrid, 1906) 4:7–9, esp. #15ª, as cited in O'Malley, *Was Ignatius,* 183.

of the Society, even though it seemed at odds—or at least in tension—with the evangelical precepts that Ignatius admired and emulated in Francis and Dominic. The Exercises, the heart of Jesuit formation, remained individual in focus.[11]

The shift from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft,* from informal bonding to a highly organized structure, is the most important transition of the early Society. The difficulties associated with this paradigm shift stay with us as long as we aspire to emulate the charism of our founder. In the evolution from the early, simple "Formula of the Institute" to the final draft of the elaborate *Constitutions,* Ignatius preferred, by and large, to keep the structures of the Society informal yet capable of preserving in legislation the charisms he saw as primary. Pressures from Paul IV, Simão Rodrigues, and others to adulterate these charisms further necessitated institutionalization of the Society's system of government. On the other hand, Ignatius does not leave any evidence of regret over the institutionalization of governance, except perhaps that he was the man chosen for the task. Likewise, it should be noted that, while he was slow to accept the foundation of schools for lay students, he also considered the founding of the Roman and German Colleges (seminaries) among the most important accomplishments of the early Society. In short, the charism of mobility and the development of stable institutions (including the Society itself) have been in tension in the Society of Jesus from the beginning.

b. The "American" Century

Jesuit colleges, reductions, and other institutions were phenomenally successful in almost all parts of the globe before the suppression (1773–1815). The assertion is generally made that the level of success and influence they brought to the Society was a primary cause of our demise. The Society reborn after the suppression aimed to rebuild that system, but also developed a style that was more monastic and less distinctively Jesuit. The Society in the nineteenth century, deeply traumatized by its own suppression and Europe's revolutions, became a largely conservative force in the Church and society.

As far as ideology was concerned, American Catholicism in the first two thirds of the twentieth century tried to steer a middle ground. The presence of Italian and German Jesuits expelled from their native lands certainly gave it a conservative flavor. Likewise, Vatican condemnations of "Americanism," along with "Modernism," put great constraints on American Church life, which tended in any case to be pragmatic. To American Jesuits, says Peter McDonough, "ideas were academic and European; institutions were home

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[11] Jon Sobrino, Address to the International Congress of the Spiritual Exercises, Loyola, Spain, September 20, 1991.

grown."[12] If Americans were asked whether they were making a single distinctive contribution, they would point to their extraordinary proliferation of institutions. Not only did the Church understand itself theologically in institutional terms but, from a practical point of view, we measured our success in our bricks and mortar. An entire parallel system of institutions set Catholics apart from mainstream American society, even as American Catholics tried their best to become full-fledged members of society. Both the European influence on Church ideology and orthodoxy and our position as a minority faith in the United States gave us and our institutions a relatively conservative, protective quality.

The number and size of Jesuit schools grew rapidly throughout the century, and it was commonly understood that schools were the very heart of the Jesuit undertaking. Jesuits were ardent in their belief about what education could do for Jesuits and society. New educational institutions in places as diverse as Baghdad, Tokyo, and Kathmandu reflected the conviction that education was our calling card and the preeminent source of our influence. The process was one of converting individual men—"saving souls"—through education and formation, and thereby changing culture and society. The *Ratio studiorum* made it easy to identify what Jesuit education was, and Jesuits felt confident that they understood why they were in the teaching business. Surface evidence—vocations, Mass attendance, and so on—seemed to confirm the value of their work.

The seemingly unbridled faith in institutionalization was reflected within the Society by the military metaphors then popular, as well as by "the long black line." Despite the heavy institutional context, however, mobility was taken seriously. The "status," posted each summer to advise of often unexpected moves, certainly made Jesuits very much aware of their mobility. The key difference in that era, however, was the belief that the needs of the institutions and the needs of the Society were practically the same. This Jesuit attitude fit rather neatly into the prevailing American cultural attitudes towards institutions, at a time when people might actually have believed that "what's good for General Motors is good for America." With a Jesuit training, our message implied, Catholics could assimilate and prosper without losing the faith.[13] We still believed that influencing the powerful would somehow create a more Christian society. In the American context, given the relative absence of Catholics in influential circles, that meant propelling Catholics into the upper reaches of American society through education.

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[12] Peter McDonough, *Men Astutely Trained: A History of the Jesuits in the American Century* (New York, The Free Press, 1992), 13.

[13] McDonough, *Men Astutely Trained,* 464.

c. New Uncertainties

A rather startling confluence of events in the 1960s radically reshaped our institutional landscape and sense of self-confidence. While some change is attributable to the outcome of the Second Vatican Council, many Jesuits in formation at that time have told me that considerable disquiet, fueled by broader cultural changes, preceded the council's outcome. At the very least, the council legitimated a broad variety of changes at a time when many Jesuits were impatient with the system. What started as tinkering had a "snowball" effect.

Two of these legitimated changes were most important. First, religious orders were encouraged to return to the charism of their founders. The whole reexamination of Church history from the late 1940s onward had an enormous effect on a Church that had presented as timeless realities cultural manifestations of Christianity that were often not very old or at all consistent. Reexamining Jesuit history led many to question whether the Society as it then existed was really what Ignatius had in mind, and emboldened them to drop much of the cultural baggage accumulated along the way. Second, the Church was called upon to "read the signs of the times," that is, to examine its mission in light of the demands of contemporary history and culture. Both of these changes radically altered our understanding of what it means to follow in the steps of Ignatius. The call was at once to imitate as much as possible the spirit of the early Society and to do what the times demanded for the sake of the Gospel.

To a Society that was heavily committed to institutions in a tumultuous era that suddenly rejected institutions, the great attraction was to the mobility of the earliest Society, before it had begun to conduct schools. What is just as important, however, the Society took upon itself a new set of expectations that it naturally transferred to its institutions. The faith-and-justice mission, or preferential option for the poor, adopted by the Thirty-Second General Congregation was hardly a garment that most of our institutions were prepared to don. To put it redundantly, our schools measured success by success and hoped to continue on an upwardly mobile academic and demographic path.

Up until the 1950s the majority of our institutions educated or worked with poorer, or at least working-class, students. Institutions like Boston College educated generations of local students and provided what might have been their only chance to attend college. By the 1960s these same schools were victims of their own success. Many Jesuits questioned whether they were merely educating the well-off to become better-off.

In response to the desire to professionalize and "mainstream" the schools and in response to the Second Vatican Council, we gave up direct control of most of our educational institutions. Provincial and Roman control decreased drastically. Predominantly lay boards of trustees became owners of what we still call "Jesuit" institutions. In part by choice and in part by circumstances, most schools—especially universities—became larger and more pluralistic

in faculty, student body, and curriculum. As great numbers of Jesuits departed in the 1970s, considerably fewer Jesuits remained behind in the institutions.

Peter McDonough also argues that personal development of a psychosocial and psychosexual nature began to absorb men who were once caught up in abstract concerns.[14] In the process they rejected both intellectualism and institutions as means incapable of addressing newer, more important concerns.

Little of what once seemed unchangeable in Jesuit life remained untouched by the late 1970s. The common clarity of purpose and the means of measuring accomplishment, factors that once held together the institutions, were undermined. While institutions were slow to catch up with what the Society wanted from them, so were many Jesuits. Some Jesuits held on to older notions of decorum, rules, and purpose, while others had radically different ideas of what the same institutions ought to be accomplishing. The old prize, assimilation to the American Dream without losing the faith, came to be seen by many Jesuits as antithetical to what Jesuits should be working for, even though many of the Jesuits making that claim, and their institutions as well, had been shaped by or benefited from what they now lamented. In the context of all this, institutions somehow often came to be characterized as representative of a past to be escaped, while the bright hope of the future lay elsewhere, in *some* place not bogged down by institutions.

II. Four Models of Institutional Involvement

I began this project out of a belief that Bellah's basic intuition was right, that Jesuits had lost faith in institutions and in their power to shape society. To test this thesis I interviewed twenty Jesuits about their beliefs regarding the efficacy of our institutions. The interviewees were men in various stages of formation from theology to tertianship, hailing from nine of the ten Jesuit provinces in America. I hoped thereby to gain some sense of what changes younger Jesuits would like to see in the Society vis-à-vis institutional commitments. I selected men at this stage of formation because they all had experience working in Jesuit institutions and the subsequent opportunity to reflect on that experience during theology, tertianship, or other studies. Only one was currently attached to a particular apostolic institution, while the others were still discerning what form of ministerial involvement they would pursue. In addition to conducting these interviews, I also discussed the responses with a number of *patres graviores,* who offered me their thoughts and comments.

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[14] *Men Astutely Trained,* 380f.

I told interviewees at the outset that I was testing the Bellah thesis that "since we no longer believe it possible to really shape institutions which are capable of transforming society, Americans choose instead to distance themselves from institutions, or operate within them as individuals without a collective sense." My interest, I told them, was to find out what beliefs Jesuits hold about apostolic institutions ("ours" and various others) as vehicles for carrying out our mission. Do they enable it? Compromise it?

I then presented the interviewees the following four models of institutional involvement and asked them to comment on which ones they were most and least attracted to.

➤ **The "Infusion Model":** Jesuit-run institutions are the best place for Jesuits (for me) to work, because by working collectively we can shape those institutions much more than we could in dispersion. Our collective influence on the institutions is our best hope for affecting society and individuals, and our ability to influence American culture and society would be greatly diminished without the institutions.

➤ **The "Dispersion Model":** Jesuits can exercise much greater influence on society working in a variety of institutions *other* than "ours." Good Jesuits well placed elsewhere would have a much greater effect. They would be less compromised by the decisions those institutions make, and would be able to stand apart as cultural critics, or simply reach out to new groups of people.

➤ **The "One-to-One Model":** I have serious reservations about the ability of our present institutions to change society. Jesuits are compromised too much in those commitments, and experience proves that the institutions shape us more than we can shape them. What's most valuable about our institutional commitments is that they enable *individual* contact between Jesuits and students or other people. We're not going to change institutions or society, but we can affect other people one at a time.

➤ **The "Counterpoint Model":** Our most important witness is to take a prophetic stance *as a community,* not individually. The contrast of this communal witness to the values and institutions of contemporary culture is the mirror we should hold up to American culture. This may often mean clearly distinguishing between the Society and many of the traditional institutions that call themselves "Jesuit."

Finally, I asked each one to reply briefly to the following questions:

① Would he find it preferable to carry out his apostolic goals in a larger or smaller institution? Does it make any difference?

② Had he previously given the question of institutionalization much attention?

③ Did he attend a Jesuit institution in high school, college, or graduate school before entering the Society?

Question 1 was asked on the presumption that Jesuits who believed strongly in infusion might opt for smaller institutions where infusion was more manageable. Since in recent years fewer and fewer of the men who enter have been alumni of Jesuit schools, I posed question 3 to see if I could discern any difference in attitudes among alumni of Jesuit schools and those who had never attended them.

2. Some Answers

Jesuits seem to like to cover all their bases. Most men spoke in favor of more than one model, often suggesting that a multimodel approach was the best means for the Society to carry out its mission. "All of the above" or "this *and* that" answers make it difficult to report the responses in terms of simple percentages, but the conversation that ensued from the interviews' open-ended approach provided fascinating information into reasoning processes that might have been lost by a narrower form of questioning. In addition, it allowed me to ascertain some important points not taken into account by my models. I shall aim to report first what respondents told me and then to interpret these answers, including as well some points not built into my original set of interview questions but raised in the Jesuits' responses and explanations. While twenty interviews do not represent a definitive survey of young Jesuits, it is a large enough sample to make important suggestions. What I found in the interviews altered my own thinking in many ways and significantly changed my subsequent conversations with Jesuits about institutional questions. Perhaps it can provide a new basis for Jesuits to reflect on their own experience.

Whenever I raised the question about Jesuit apostolic institutions, the overwhelming majority (seventeen out of twenty) of the interviewees immediately interpreted "institutions" to mean "schools." Only one referred to retreat houses; two referred secondarily to parishes. Despite our protestations that the Society is much broader than the schools it sponsors, the schools continue to dominate our apostolic imagination in the United States.

I did not find much basis in my interviews for asserting that the Bellah abandonment thesis applies well to young American Jesuits, though many had limited or even serious misgivings about our institutions, and many others also employed the language of individualism to explain the meaning of the work they do in our institutions. To explain this I should first outline the responses to each model.

a. Infusion

Infusion, I would argue, is the most quintessentially pro-institutional model. Groups employing that model try to shape an institution's values and culture from within, as, for example, the religious right has aimed to do to the Republican Party. Contemporary Jesuits are the inheritors of a system of institutions wherein the distinction between the Society and the institution is somewhat weak, especially in the public perception. While we have legally incorporated the institutions as separate bodies, so far at least we still are willing to trade on the Jesuit name out of a belief that by doing so we will stamp the institutions with our imprint. Today, the complexity of our institutions—lay collaboration, the diffusion of responsibilities, and the pluralistic nature of education—makes the fusion of Jesuit and institutional identity more risky. More than a few times in recent years, Jesuits have felt the need to disassociate themselves from institutional decisions (usually described in the press as "Jesuit school allows . . ." or something of the sort) and clarify that the institution's perspective and the Society's may not be the same. On the other hand, institutions' public-relations departments often make it seem as if even the new swimming pool was installed in response to the institution's Jesuit values. Infusion is the dominant paradigm for Jesuit institutions today.

By and large, the Jesuits I interviewed still believe the trade-off is worth the risk. Thirteen of the twenty respondents claimed that continuing the infusion model at Jesuit institutions was their first preference.

The primary reason interviewees offered in favor of the infusion model was visibility. Most often they liked the idea that because of our corporate apostolates people know who we are. One felt that perhaps people could only understand Jesuits in groups, as a collective.

Secondly, these Jesuits argued that corporate apostolates were more effective means of influencing those we meet. When we work together in a place that is our own, we have to do less explaining or justifying. The benefit of the "multiplier effect" is that we can "hit the ground running." One man argued more specifically that highly visible institutions "force society to take religious values seriously."

Finally, some men simply seemed to like the institutions because "they work for me." It is not surprising, therefore, that these respondents were the ones who replied most often that they had not given the question of alternative ministerial options much thought, assuming that the institutional option would always be there for them. Likewise, they tended to critique the institutions less often.

In general, Jesuits argued that men should be assigned "wherever they can use their talents best." This line of least resistance appears to have a positive

impact in terms of the number of Jesuits at our institutions, since Jesuits clearly preferred to be able to work with other Jesuits.

On the negative side, many Jesuits cautioned that the infusion model lulls us into a false sense of security, so that we believe that we are having a greater corporate effect than we are. As a group, infusion proponents focused less often on apostolic criteria to support their preference. They were the least articulate about the role of institutions in society, and tended far less often critically to evaluate the institutions themselves. While this was not true of all those who supported the infusion model, many were more complacent and seemed unlikely to challenge institutions to respond to the particular demands of the Society.

b. Dispersion

As I presented it, the dispersion model proposes that it would be better for Jesuits to minister at institutions other than our own. It is important to note that the model is not in itself pro- or anti-institutional. Therefore, the reasons respondents offered for having chosen this model are as important as the option itself for understanding Jesuit attitudes towards institutions.

Four of the twenty interviewees gave first preference to some form of the dispersion model. For three of these men, dispersion meant taking a position at a major secular university, while for another this meant pastoral ministry among marginalized people. The dispersion model was a close second choice for half of the infusion proponents.

The primary argument in favor of dispersion was ministerial. These men argued that it was very important for Jesuits to serve as bridges between the Church and secular intellectual life or between the Church and other social institutions. Unless the Church could make itself visibly present to some degree in other institutions, they felt that it would lose influence. As one put it, it is important for the Church that non-Catholics and nonbelievers encounter an "attractive enigma" in the persons of bright, believing Jesuits. Each testified to the importance of this in his own life: it helped form him, and he believed that by subsequently assuming this role himself he would help form others. While the terms they employed vacillated between aiming to minister to individuals whom they might not otherwise encounter and aspiring to change institutions and society, all expressed their belief that the last goal was worthy and accomplishable. In a "ghettoized" Catholic environment, they feared, they were primarily "preaching to the converted." These men saw dispersion as an important model of service *in addition to* our presence at Jesuit institutions, not simply as a replacement for a failed system.

This was not a group of men who rejected institutions. Two, in fact, excoriated individualism ("a naivé, bankrupt mythology," said one; a "psycho-

logical subterfuge," said the other). One argued that his third-world regency experience challenged him to understand the importance of institutions' role in society, but still left him uncomfortable with the characteristics embodied in most of our own institutions. Notably, too, the men attracted to work in non-Jesuit educational institutions were not arguing in favor of working in community colleges that educate marginalized students. They were attracted to powerful institutions whose faculty, ideas, and alumni influence American society.

The major hesitation of Jesuits who favored the dispersion model was the fear that they might thus be isolated from other Jesuits. From that perspective, I find it difficult to argue that their embrace of the dispersion model is an escape from community or an individualistic approach. Curiously enough, they were the men most appreciative of the role of institutions in social life, and they recognized equally well what it takes to mobilize an institution. Despite some hesitation about characteristics of our own institutions, the primary impetus articulated for their position was ministerial, namely, the hope of reaching new audiences.

c. One to One

The one-to-one model, in effect, is the strongest test model for the Bellah thesis. It argues that we cannot affect the institutions themselves and/or that these institutions cannot do much to change society, but insists that we can at least—as individuals—use institutions to help us navigate our way through what we cannot change.

Only one of the twenty men favored the one-to-one model. Because of his insistence that the one-to-one model and the infusion model were inseparable, I included him among the supporters of the infusion model. While he intended to work in a Jesuit institution all his life, he said that attempts to use them to change society were "a big mistake." Personal contacts and individual-values formation were solely what we should aim for. If we were successful in this, society might change "as a by-product" of education.

While that response is an extreme, perhaps, it is different only by degree from the views of many other infusion proponents who tended to see their role, and the role of their institutions, as personal formation of individuals, in the classical model of the Society. They understood the role of the institution much less frequently as an instrument for social change or as a mediating force in society; rather, they saw it as a means to reach individuals who might in turn "do great things" for society. Most of these men identified themselves with the high-school apostolate, though some intended to teach at the college level.

While it was seldom articulated in conflictual terms, I recognized later that two different visions of Jesuit institutional purpose—personal and so

cial/structural—coexist in the Society and alter what an individual Jesuit expects our institutions to be doing.

d. Counterpoint

"Counterpoint" is a name for the group-oriented, prophetic stance that some Jesuits have suggested as a model for future ministry. It aims to place Jesuits at a distinct vantage point that would enable them to critique both contemporary society and the institution where the Jesuits work. Some might characterize this as a second form of institutional abandonment, though in another sense it would not be precise to call it abandonment, since prophetic counterpoint exists only in a symbiotic relationship with the institution itself. Jesuits who employ this model attempt to stay at the institution, but make clear distinctions between the institution and the Jesuit community.

Three of the Jesuits I interviewed favored the counterpoint model. Each turned to this model out of frustration that the institutions they were closest to were failing to accomplish their mission, notably the "faith and justice" mission. In a culture they perceived to be too individualistic, they contended that a community-oriented counterpoint model would serve as Jesuits' most important witness. One argued that to be authentically Ignatian was to be countercultural, to stand back from the values of the institution and society and to critique them. In contrast to many one-to-one proponents, adherents to this counterpoint approach often framed their answers in terms of social implications of institutions rather than in individualistic terms.

On the other hand, half of the men I interviewed found the counterpoint model to be the least attractive choice. All of these men characterized it as a negative stance, and many reacted intensely to it. "Sterile," "narcissistic," and "self-righteous" were among the reactions. "I did not enter the Society to hold up a mirror so that Americans can see their flaws," said one man. Another man simply felt that we would not be effective by isolating ourselves to play the prophetic role. He asserted that people are much more likely to listen to the president of a major Jesuit institution who stands up for something than to a group of men who put themselves on the fringe of institutions or society.

Seven of the twenty respondents indicated that their attitudes towards institutions had changed significantly in recent years. Whereas they once opposed or resisted the Society's institutional commitments, today they recognized a need for them. Reciprocally, one man who had once been a great believer in Jesuit institutional ministries now felt disillusioned. Counterpoint proponents often articulated the most clearly *ministerial* reasons for Jesuit presence in institutions. Paradoxically, they seemed to have a far-greater understanding of the role institutions play in society.

Whether Jesuits should prefer larger or smaller institutions was a matter of indifference; the question yielded no discernible patterns. I had hoped it would indicate some correlation between fear of loss of control over institutions and desire for alternate models, but that relationship may be more complex than my interviews could ascertain. Most men had given some serious thought to my opening questions about institutions. The most notable, and very important, exception was the same group of infusion supporters who articulated no critiques of the institutions.

During my interviews I also asked whether interviewees had attended a Jesuit school before entering the Society. Whereas the vast majority of Jesuits once entered straight out of Jesuit high schools or colleges, that is no longer the case today. A look at the priests ordained in the American Assistancy in the last two years reveals that almost two thirds had a Jesuit high-school or college education, whereas only half the novices who entered between 1989 and 1991 graduated from a Jesuit college or high school.[15] While the Society devotes not a few years to forming its men in Jesuit ways, many older Jesuits tell me that they had absorbed the meaning and ethos of Jesuit education before they entered, during their high-school or college years—usually from the scholastics who taught them in regency. If the current pattern of fewer novices entering from Jesuit institutions continues, I wondered, what will be its implications for Jesuit institutions? Are men formed in other institutions less likely to believe in the mission of Jesuit institutions?

My interviews defied such correlation. Alumni and nonalumni of Jesuit institutions were fairly evenly distributed among proponents of infusion and other models. Men trained at major secular universities, whether as Jesuits or not, were more likely to want to reach out to similar institutions and a wider variety of non-Jesuit institutions. Alumni were neither more nor less satisfied with our institutions, though the three men who favored the counterpoint model were all educated at Jesuit institutions.

Still, the shift in educational background of entrants poses important questions. Further questions still need to be asked as to why we seem increasingly able to attract vocations from among those who did not attend our schools, yet are proportionately less able to do so from among our own graduates.[16]

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[15] *Company Magazine* biographies, Winter 1989 to Summer 1992.

[16] In the last twenty years, greater numbers of Catholic men have chosen to attend secular universities. Harvard now enrolls more Catholic students than the College of the Holy Cross, the University of Connecticut more than Fairfield University, and so forth. This factor is only partially suggestive as an explanation of the discrepancy. Still, it is not too much to hope that our alumni would be among those most likely to want to join.

In my introduction I suggested that Jesuits might fear institutions out of a sense that the needs of the institution might inappropriately determine the choices their provinces make for them. To my surprise, though I did not ask about it, I discovered in the course of my interviews that more young Jesuits found themselves without particular direction from the Society. They were not sure that the Society had a particular vision for them. Some who did receive direction were puzzled how those plans might fit into a long-term Jesuit vision. It appears that men would welcome clearer apostolic direction from the Society. It may also be that at this moment of adaptive transformation, provincials cannot offer the kind of clear vision that we once expected, because the answers are only in part a matter of technical adjustment.

III. Making Sense of Our Confusion

The interviews certainly confirmed the assertion that young Jesuits are ambivalent about institutional commitment. About one quarter of the men I interviewed harbored serious reservations about whether the Society should remain identified with our institutions in their current state. One half of the infusion proponents even expressed ambivalence about the state of the institutions they knew best, but perceived that the trade-off works in our favor.

Nonetheless, I was startled to see how many of the Jesuits I spoke to wanted, in one way or another, to be in and around institutions. Their responses belie this at first glance. Despite their ambivalent attitudes and dissimilar responses, however, all these men are choosing to work in and through institutions of one sort or another. In spite of hesitations, two thirds still prefer most of all to work in Jesuit institutions.

What the interviews revealed to me is that we should not easily assume that individualism and "lone-rangerism" correlate simply with adherence to noninfusion models. The reality is much more complex. An important distinction needs to be drawn between young Jesuits who are anti-institutional or discouraged because of the particular characteristics of their *Jesuit* institutions, and those who are simply seeking for good apostolic reasons to expand the Society's work in ways consonant with its vision. One Jesuit interviewee put it best when he offered this comparison: "I think the court system is a mess. Health care, too. But I believe in the rule of law and in hospitals." Another said, "The only changes in society come about through institutions." He just wished ours could behave differently.

Perhaps most significantly (and by no means by design), seventeen of the twenty Jesuits interviewed are preparing—by choice—to work in education. Two wanted to opt for pastoral work, and one expected to do pastoral work

both inside and outside educational institutions. No one voiced a deep personal desire to break free of institutions and preach unencumbered, as the first companions did, or to serve the poor directly. The dispersion adherents simply argued in favor of affecting individuals or society through *different* institutions—generally, in fact, highly influential institutions. The counterpoint adherents wanted a different model for affecting people or institutions, but sought to implement this model at the same institutions where we have traditionally worked. The one-to-one adherent was definitely not looking to work outside an institutional context. Contrary to Bellah's expectation, the men who most favored the infusion model, and who thus are most often thought of as pro-institutional, were often the most individualistic when they talked about their work at those Jesuit institutions. They best described how they could affect the lives of individual students, but were often quite vague in their expressions of how their institutions actually could affect society. Individualism and anti-institutional attitudes were not complementary among this group. Neither did ambivalence over our institutional commitments correlate with a desire to pursue ministries outside Jesuit institutions.

The men whom some observers might think of as anti-institutional because of their preference for the dispersion and counterpoint models exhibited a variety of pro-institutional and individualistic characteristics that defy the labels Bellah's thesis suggests. Notably, these men were the most articulate at identifying the social functions of institutions and the implications of their work in them. The implication they feared most was that dispersion might separate them from Jesuit community life. Counterpoint adherents represent a distinctively community-oriented (if sectarian) approach.

Fr. Kolvenbach has stated that "our schools cannot succeed in their formative purposes unless society itself becomes an object and horizon of their apostolic outreach." The individualism of infusion supporters will not serve institutions well if it keeps our institutions from broadening their horizon. Individualism very much needs to be counterbalanced by the social emphasis of the diffusion or counterpoint proponents.

It is very significant that the great majority of the respondents argued that while *they* believed that an anti-institutional stance was futile or even counterproductive in contemporary society, they believed that *other Jesuits* had lost faith in institutions, as Bellah argues. They agreed with Bellah's critique, though their own responses indicated that their peers very much want to preserve institutional involvements in some form. Two Jesuits told me that they felt it was somehow "not politically correct" really to believe in working within institutions. In such a climate it is hard to see how good institutional planning can really take place. How did the Society get to a state wherein the majority of our young men seem to want to work in institutional settings, yet apparently

have not communicated this well to each other and often feel uncomfortable in our own institutions?

3. How Our Myth Shapes Us

a. The "Truly Ignatian"

In the opening section of this paper, I painted a picture of a "defining myth" which fit the one that was passed on to me. Several peers who were asked to comment on the paper told me that they thought I stated the problem well and identified why mobility and institutionalization are in conflict in the Society today. Yet my introduction paid only cursory attention to the experience of the Society between 1555 and the rise of the "American Century." I highlighted the charism of the early Society to explain what it means to be a Jesuit and examined American traits that also influence our identity and might have caused our reaction against institutions in the 1960s. Those choices about what is important in Jesuit history are significant for the underlying message they send about what it should mean to be a Jesuit.

The way we have defined the Jesuit charism in the last twenty-five years is a likely source of our institutional ambivalence. The charism is identified as somehow pre-institutional, unrelated to most of our history from 1555 onward. This interpretation, at least by implication, pits Ignatian indifference and mobility against institutionalization, setting them in conflict with one another. It is oddly fundamentalist, searching for a moment in the early history of the Society when things were as Ignatius "really" wanted them.[17] It embodies a longing for what one interviewee called "the fallacy of primitive social locations," a magic time before rules, Constitutions, and institutions got in the way of the true charism of the Society. Insofar as that fallacy can be identified as a particular characteristic of the late 1960s, we can see how it influenced our historiography and how our historiography in turn legitimized our contemporary cultural bias. According to this shaping of the myth, all relationships between Jesuits and our institutions are inherently problematic.

Undoubtedly, the early transition from a small group of mobile companions to a large, organized order of religious with significant institutional commitments was fraught with difficulties, as I acknowledged earlier. Nonetheless, there is no reason to imply that the transition is the story of the Society's failure. It is hard to imagine that in the days before the suppression, during the

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[17] In an earlier essay, Philip Endean has identified many other ways that Jesuit fundamentalism affects our lives and assumptions. "We are constantly driven to refer everything of significance back to some obscurely defined primitive inspiration" ("Who Do You Say Ignatius Is?" *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 19, no. 5 [November 1987]).

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (a time one could arguably assert was the most flourishing and interesting period of the Society), Jesuits could even have conceived of this.

Peter McDonough argues that our inherent tensions are the very sources that have "fueled the dynamism of the order."[18] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tension between mobility and institutionalization appears to have been a source of enormous vitality within the Society. It was a time when the Society could revel in the great achievements of worldwide explorers and missionaries, *and* in its colleges, scholarly activities, and pastoral ministries. Their relationship was symbiotic and supportive. Missionaries founded colleges almost everywhere they went, while European institutions were a primary source of the young men who went off to the missions. The relationship between St. Alonso Rodríguez and St. Pedro Claver seems paradigmatic of how this tension could be creative and sustaining for the Society. Rodríguez was most significant in influencing Claver to undertake his apostolate among slaves. Yet Alonso was employed in a rather curious institutional job that left him fixed in one place. Gerard Manley Hopkins saw holiness and greatness in the tension, evident in his own life as well.

> Yet God (that hews mountain and continent,
> Earth, all, out; who, with trickling increment,
> Veins violets and tall trees makes more and more)
> Could crowd career with conquest while there went
> Those years and years by of world without event
> That in Majorca Alfonso watched the door.[19]

Even though Alonso was left home, the tension between mobility and institutionalization was creative and mutually reinforcing, shaping the Society in its most glorious era.

Today, what used to be creative tension has become a problem, a source of conflict, uncertainty, and soul searching. The point was hammered home to me at a dinner recently when I was telling another scholastic how many of my province's regents were in the missions—in Brazil, Kenya, Jamaica, and at Pine Ridge. "How many are in the high schools?" he responded. "None," I said. "What kind of message does that send the high schools?" he asked, in evident frustration. While I was able to respond that a number of young priests had been assigned to high schools in recent years, the incident points to a

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[18] *Men Astutely Trained,* xvi–xvii. McDonough argues that the Society embodies "a moral culture whose logic is driven by contradictions straining toward integration, toward transcendence of a kind."

[19] Gerard Manley Hopkins, "In Honour of St. Alphonsus Rodriguez," *The Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins,* ed. W. H. Gardner and N. H. MacKenzie, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 106.

definite problem. Men sent to the missions are somehow construed as men taken away from the institutions, as if the decision were an intentional affront to the institutions. The Society's colleges in the era of the *Relations* were adept at turning the missionary efforts of our men into a preaching and vocation-recruiting tool, seeing them as a sign of God's love and care for the Society. Today, however, what could be a great morale booster and sign of hope is instead an occasion for grumbling and fear, a demoralizing factor that saps our energies.

It seems to me that there is a parallel between our fundamentalist yearnings and our ambivalence about institutions. Jesuit-identity formation today pays little attention to the flourishing Society's experience during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Jesuits, according to my interviews, are men who essentially want to be in institutions, but who are sent, or send themselves, a message that the "real" Jesuit charism lies elsewhere. On the contrary, if I am accurately reading the presuppression history of the Society, the charism lies precisely in the internal tension between mobility and institutionalization, the willingness to embrace either alternative if asked.

b. Decree 4

Another defining myth by which we Jesuits judge our institutions and ourselves—Decree 4—fuels our ambivalence about institutional involvement, even as it is an inspired call to conversion.[20] If my interviewees are typical of younger Jesuits as a whole, there is no truth whatsoever to the arguments that claim "younger Jesuits are abandoning (or want to abandon) the schools in favor of social-justice apostolates," as I have heard. Peter McDonough notes that in 1965 one tenth of one percent of Jesuits were working in direct social ministry. By 1979, he says, that figure had reached only 1.4 percent despite Decree 4's powerful emphasis on social justice.[21] While McDonough does not reveal exactly what he counts as social ministry, my own interviews hardly contradict his claim. No interviewees indicated that they intend to go into ministries of the sort traditionally characterized as "social work." The Jesuit Conference estimates

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[20] "The mission of the Society of Jesus today is the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement." After noting the challenges posed by unbelief, the document continues, "There is a new challenge to our apostolic mission in a world increasingly interdependent but, for all that, divided by injustice: injustice not only personal but institutionalized: built into economic, social and political structures that dominate the life of nations and the international community." "The struggle to transform these structures in the interest of the spiritual and material liberation of fellow human beings is intimately connected to the work of evangelization" ("Our Mission Today," *Documents of the 31st and 32nd General Congregation,* ed. John W. Padberg, S.J. (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1977), ¶48, ¶52, and ¶89.

[21] *Men Astutely Trained,* 493.

that 8 to 10 percent of Jesuits currently work in social ministries, including those Jesuits who perform "traditional" institutionalized pastoral ministries among poor and marginalized people.

Nonetheless, the decree's new mandate towards a "preferential option for the poor" for the sake of evangelization caused us to reappraise our institutional ministries. Since then, institutions have been judged in large part by how much they work to transform unjust social structures. Most of the respondents who were uncomfortable with particular qualities of our institutional commitments measured that success by the values of Decree 4. Yet Jesuits have given considerably less attention to how well prepared we are to commit our institutions to a Decree 4 perspective. Do we know how?

The interviews with young Jesuits, as well as subsequent reflection and research, offered little reassurance that we are well prepared to carry out that mission on an institutional level. This, it seems to me, is a second cause of institutional ambivalence, one that will affect us for some time. While we know how to talk about the necessity of a faith that does justice, we are not trained in the social-analysis skills that Fr. Arrupe deemed integral to an understanding of this endeavor.[22] Few men put the major share of their efforts into programs that could really shape institutions, clearly imprinting on them the marks and values of Decree 4 whether by means of large-scale urban or third-world programs, research agendas, or other programs. Yet, insofar as our institutions do not embody Decree 4's aims, Jesuits express ambivalence or frustration. Sometimes we blame ourselves for hanging on at those institutions. Most often, I would suggest, we take the easiest road and blame our institutions for not embodying the qualities that we do not know how to give them.

Bellah offers an insight that helps clarify the Society's problem. He argues that America's dilemma about how to respond to homelessness is analogous to our larger cultural ambivalence about our relationship to social institutions. Most urban Americans have been faced with this dilemma more than once. What do we do when confronted by a homeless person on the street? Is it better to give money? Does that provide a disincentive to stop begging? Could it just support an addiction? The best-intentioned of us agonize over what to do. Homelessness is a social, structural problem at root, the result of gentrification, employment policies, deinstitutionalization of the mentally ill, and changes in government funding programs. Solving a problem as complex as homelessness requires major adaptive social changes beyond what personal assistance we can offer in the short run. Yet the complexity of the problem leaves most of us feeling powerless and perplexed. We fault our institutions for "not doing

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[22] Pedro Arrupe, "Men for Others: Address to the International Congress of Jesuit Alumni of Europe (July 31, 1973), *Justice with Faith Today* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980), 132f.

something," without recognizing that problems like homelessness are the result of conscious choices *we* have made as a society, not merely the outcomes or failures of abstract institutions.[23]

Jesuits seem to be in almost the same boat vis-à-vis what our institutions could do to model Decree 4 and even what role they should play in society and for the Church. We expect institutions to do what Decree 4 asks but do not know how to bring that about. According to the 1992 Assistancy list of Jesuits pursuing doctoral studies, only about 8 percent are entering academic fields that center on structural analysis of poverty and marginalization—development economics, sociology, public policy, social work, public health, refugee policy, and so forth.[24]

While formation today provides many opportunities to live among, learn from, and minister to the poor, it does not provide Jesuits who go into other fields even a general training in the skills that one would reasonably expect from intellectuals concerned with poverty and social-justice issues. The 1992 revision of philosophical studies attempts to graft social-analysis and leadership studies onto some of the philosophy programs, but philosophy retains the central place. In his discussion of Jesuits of the 1940s and 1950s, Peter McDonough argues that Jesuits assumed that they "could somehow lead in social ministry without learning—that is, without picking up ideas that would challenge the old paradigm." It seems to me that we are still guilty of the same assumption today. Theological and philosophical analysis should take place in dialogue with social analysis and institutional responses, but not as a substitute for these. Without the latter, Jesuits—and, very likely, our institutions—will be amateurs at one of the skills by which we measure ourselves and our institutions. While the work of Decree 4 is intimately tied to transforming structures, few Jesuits are being given the skills to carry out social and cultural critique or institutional transformation.

c. Whose Door?

One more myth deserves mention, not because we should abandon it, but because it may give us some realization that our institutional efforts are based on hope—a theological virtue—more than on optimism. One of my interviewees lamented, "It's hard for me to feel that we're doing anything valuable in our schools, having seen a man like Pat Buchanan—a graduate of Gonzaga High and Georgetown, who should be one of our best—spewing hate on the television in his convention speech." We may need to acknowledge that

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[23] Bellah, *Good Society*, 4. He ascribes the insight to Kristin Luker.

[24] Source: Jesuit Conference. I did not include students of psychology in that number. Including these might double the percentage, depending on the specialization.

there is not a lot of evidence to support our optimism about education's transformative power. A significant body of research suggests that most college students change little in the course of their studies, especially in the areas of value formation.[25] While our effectiveness may be a little greater in our high schools than in our colleges, students come to our institutions more often to "get ahead" than to be changed, and institutions frequently pander to this to recruit students.[26] The Ignatian anecdote tells us we should be able to get students to come in through their own door and leave through ours. Acknowledging the difficulty of bringing about this change ought to help us to be realistic about the difficulty of the challenge we face, but not to abandon responsibility for it. We need to recognize in ourselves the same individualist temptation Bellah notes in the homelessness example: the desire to disappear into or hide behind institutions without bearing responsibility for the outcomes they produce. If we worked at institutions other than "ours," it would be simple to take credit for good results and to disavow responsibility for the bad. Insofar as we believe that we have a genuine communal vocation, not just careers, we must acknowledge that we are called to take some measure of responsibility for the effort, even for a task whose outcome seems unlikely. This holds true for Jesuits who work in any kind of institution, whether "ours" or not.

IV. Conclusion

I have no doubt that younger Jesuits believe in education as a social institution despite their sometimes deep ambivalence about our particular institutions. While I know of no comparative data to support the assertion, I surmise that American Jesuits' belief in the power of education as a social institution is no less strong than it was thirty, fifty, or even one hundred years ago. We believe education can and should shape values. Inevitably, and for the good of the Church and society, some Jesuits will always want to minister in institutions serving communities other than those our institutions usually care for. The Society is richer and stronger because of their efforts. Still, the great majority of the Jesuits I spoke to prefer to work in Jesuit institutions.

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[25] See, for example, Ernest Pascarella and Patrick Terenzini, *How College Affects Students: Findings and Insights from Twenty Years of Research* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1991). Similar findings were made in previous studies from the 1950s onward.

[26] One interviewee was extremely disheartened at a recent slogan of a university in his province: "Success is a matter of degree." "Doesn't anyone else get frustrated when we say this is what we're about?" he asked.

Success in passing on our values to our students appears to be the major criterion by which these Jesuits determined whether we or our institutions are successful. Still, they differed significantly from one another when they specified the values to which they assigned the highest priority. The Jesuits I interviewed espoused a range of beliefs along the whole spectrum from radical individualism to social activism. Ironically, though, the communitarians often turned out to be less likely to gravitate to our institutions, while the individualists were often very much at home there. The recent Notre Dame study of Catholic parish life suggests that American Catholics are not quite as individualistic as Bellah would have us believe. Nonetheless, for 40 percent of all parish-connected Catholics, religion remains a vertical, individualistic matter; for another 20 percent, it is communitarian, concerned, that is, with us and our responsibilities to each other as God's people; and for another 25 percent it is a mixture of the two. "The religious individualists turn out to be political conservatives, the communitarians, political liberals."[27]

Some similar range of views exists within the Society, contributing, along with the myths that shape us, to our ambivalent feelings towards our institutions. Liberal communitarians seem to have greater, often unmet, expectations of our institutions. The institutions' failure to live up to the transformative social mission of Catholicism embodied in Decree 4 can easily disenchant them. Individualists are generally content with their place in our institutions, but see institutions primarily as environments to enable individual work. Young Jesuits are probably much less individualistic than Bellah considers Americans to be, but I do believe that our individualism, wherever we find it, is problematic for the Society. To the extent that any significant number of Jesuits simply operate as individuals in our institutions, unchallenged by the creative tension of our vocation, the rest of us will be unhappy with our institutions, despite the fact that we ourselves are in need of change as well.

The institutional ambivalence embodied in some of our myths can tend to fuel individualism and make it unnecessarily harder for everyone at institutions, including us, to plan a "Jesuit" future there. Yet, if we do not remain active and challenging in our institutions, they will mirror our complacency or be influenced by other visions or ideologies. Institutions need more challenge than many Jesuits seem willing to give, but can probably be challenged and influenced only by people who have a strong commitment to them. Jesuits plan what we will do individually—our careers—and talk about Jesuit community; but probably we do not talk enough about what we must contribute as a group

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[27] David Leege, "Adaptation to Shifting Cultural Paradigms: Does the Past Offer Guidance for the Future of Catholicism in the United States?" Paper presented to the National Organization for the Continuing Education of Roman Catholic Clergy, held in Tampa, Fla., February 16, 1993.

if we are to construct the kind of institutions we want. That failure is one problematic strand of individualism most of us share. Consistent attention to how we are going to influence the people we work with in our institutions—and how we can design our institutions to influence students and society—is a must for the Society.

All institutional commitments are not and should not be permanent. Yet building dynamic social institutions is essential for the Church and for society, perhaps more so than ever in these times of personal or social transition or confusion. This is necessary, Bellah recognizes, if we ever hope to connect individuals to communities that can enable spiritual and social development.

It is curious that, while Jesuits maintain that we are "men of the Exercises," most Jesuits I know (including myself) have never led students or faculty at our institutions through the Exercises. We tell our colleagues the story of Ignatius and the cannon ball through the leg, we tell them what the Exercises are, but rarely do we offer them in a regular, systematic way. Yet the Exercises were probably the single most important means of influence Ignatius employed during his entire lifetime. We have a long way to go to make the heart of our charism accessible and tangible at our institutions.

It remains to be seen what kind of institutional presence we need in the future. John Coleman argues that we need to look much more towards development of smaller communities to mobilize Catholic laity into deepening Christian self-identity and service in the world.[28] Our larger institutions may turn out to be precisely the appropriate entrée to build those small communities, as some parishes have already demonstrated. One Jesuit friend recently suggested to me that the Society has all the intelligence and dedication it needs to tackle its contemporary problems. Only one thing is in dangerously short supply, he said—imagination. Imagination, of course, is what it will take to meet our institutional challenges; but I do trust that if we can get past our unnecessary, and often misconceived, ambivalence, we will find the resources we need.

My own belief is that we are likely to, and have very good reason to want to, work through institutions in the future. The anthropologist Mary Douglas asserts, "The most profound decisions about justice are not made by individuals as such, but by individuals thinking within and on behalf of institutions."[29] In the current environment and in view of our limited numbers, thinking together about how to engage institutions is essential, but it is no small task. We need to take great strides to develop the moral debate among ourselves about what we want from our institutions and how we can achieve that by working together.

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[28] John A. Coleman, *An American Strategic Theology* (New York: Paulist, 1982), chap. 2.

[29] Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), 24, cited in Bellah, *Good Society*, 13.

SOURCES

Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J.

Letter to María Guadalupe de Lencastre Sixth Duchess of Aveiro

Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645–1711) was one of the very greatest missionaries in the history of the Society of Jesus. The letter from which we here publish excerpts is one of thirty-seven documents that make up his correspondence with the Duchess of Aveiro, a woman quite rightly known as "Mother of Missions."

Eusebio Kino was born on August 10, 1645, at Segno, a small town near Trent in northern Italy. He attended the Jesuit schools in Trent and in Hall near Innsbruck, and in 1665 entered the Upper German Province of the Society at Landsberg, near Augsburg, in Bavaria. During thirteen years of the usual Jesuit formation, he made repeated requests to the Jesuit general, Giovanni Paolo Oliva, to be allowed to go on the missions. He set out for them from Germany in 1678, only to arrive in Cádiz, Spain, just in time to see the fleet sailing out of the harbor for the Indies. During the two years of waiting for the next voyage of the fleet, he perfected his Spanish and studied science and mathematics. This letter, the third of the thirty-seven, was written in Latin on November 16, 1680, a little more than two months before he finally set sail from Spain. At the time of the last of these documents, in 1687, Kino is about to begin his nearly quarter of a century of extraordinarily successful labors among the peoples of northern Mexico, lower California, and southern Arizona. He died at Sonora in Mexico on March 15, 1711. The citizens of Arizona chose him as one of their two representatives to be honored in Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol in Washington.

The Duchess of Aveiro was one of the most generous benefactors of the missions and missionaries in the vast territories of Spain and Portugal. In accord with the Patronato Real, the central governments were supposed to finance the missions in their territories but found it increasingly hard to do so. In those circumstances, missionaries turned to the duchess for assistance, which she most generously gave to missionary work in China, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, and the Marianas. The duchess came from the highest nobility of Portugal, and the family name of Lancastre goes back to John of Gaunt, English duke of Lancaster. She came to Spain in 1663, married the Spanish duke of Arcos in 1665, and lived in Madrid until her death in 1715.

The duchess set up endowments for the education of missionaries, paid for their passage abroad, built and endowed seminaries, financed scholarly publications in fields as diverse as mathematics, literature, natural sciences, and theology, to mention no more. At her home in Madrid she employed a staff of secretaries and copyists and set up a clearing house and information center of the worldwide missionary activity during nearly half a century. She once said that she hoped to build as many Catholic churches as Queen Elizabeth of England had destroyed or confiscated. As a result of her benefactions, personal and institutional, she secured over the years a vast fund of reports and letters, a trove of data in the fields of history, geography, ethnology, and other sciences.

This particular letter from Kino is interesting not only in its own right for what it tells of Kino but also for the information it gives about the Society of Jesus and for the many questions it can raise about life in the Society at the time when he wrote. After this introduction and the letter itself, some of those questions are posed as a postscript to the letter and to this introduction.

The translation used here and the material for the introduction are taken from Kino Writes to the Duchess: Letters of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., to the Duchess of Aveiro, *translated and annotated by Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., and published by the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome in 1965 in cooperation with a then existing branch of the Institute at Saint Louis University.*

May the peace of Christ Jesus which surpasses all understanding be with Your Excellency.

Eight full days ago I received your most kind and welcome letter. As at the time I was making the eight-day Spiritual Exercises of our founder Saint Ignatius, I put off until now reading and acknowledging it with gratitude to the best of my ability.

I am particularly thankful for the apostolic zeal that you manifest for the salvation of the neighbor and of the souls redeemed by the blood of Christ. . . .

As far as I am concerned, I admit that from my earliest years (but especially after reading the life and martyrdom of Reverend Father Charles Spinola)[1] I longed to go to the missions of the Orient. Hence I often worked hard at mathematics. . . .

With reason does Your Excellency complain about the slight zeal and enthusiasm shown for the missions in the Mariana Islands and other regions. . . .

Most fortunate are these missionaries en route to the Church's vineyard in the Orient! If we can not follow and accompany them in body, we can do so in mind and unceasing prayer poured out to God. . . .

The all-merciful Lord knows what efforts I made in Rome and elsewhere to obtain a Portuguese grammar which would enable me while still in Germany to learn Portuguese or at least the key elements of the language. My intention in so doing was to be able in time (if God and superiors so determined) to set out for the missions in the Far East from Portugal, the country so dear to my angelic patron Saint Francis Xavier and to so many others of his followers. Yet, I repeat, the will of the Omnipotent be done; this will alone truly makes good and repays all with the highest returns and in wondrous ways.

In a letter that reached me from Rome four days ago, our Very Reverend Father General [Giovanni Paolo Oliva] and the assistant of Germany, Father Charles de Noyelle, confirmed the permission given me of going either to Paraguay or Colombia. But after the chance of setting out for Paraguay went by, so that I neither could nor should leave for Colombia, [I shall board] the dispatch ship which will leave from Europe with the galleons and will bring me, God willing, to the port of Vera Cruz. This would be in accordance with the plan for our destination disclosed to us by our Reverend Father Procurator of the foreign missions, who wants the missionaries who have been ap-

[1] An Italian missionary to the Orient; born in 1564, he was martyred in Nagasaki, Japan, in 1622 and beatified in 1867 [translator's note].

pointed to the Philippines and the Marianas to catch up with those on their way in the fleet sailing to Mexico, so that the former can still board the ship with the latter at Acapulco bound for the Philippines. . . .

This Upper German Province of the Society has somewhat more than eight hundred members and some thirty schools. The number of those seeking entrance into the Society, usually secular students, comes to about four hundred each year. From among them some fifteen to eighteen novices are accepted yearly for our novitiate. Likewise, this province has at present (and such is usually the case) over two hundred volunteers for the foreign missions. All of them desire most ardently to devote themselves to the difficult missions of the Indies and to the harvest of souls there, as occasion offers and superiors decide.

This Jesuit province includes Bavaria, Tyrol, Switzerland, Swabia, and the Palatinate; and yet the Province of Bohemia with its twelve hundred members and the Austrian Province with its fourteen hundred are even larger, although both suffered heavy losses last year, since so many Jesuits generously tended to the plague-stricken. But as a matter of fact, both of these provinces together do not have as many volunteers for the foreign missions as does that of Upper Germany.

The omniscient Lord is my witness that I report correctly when I say that in the latter province the volunteers for the missions are given the very best preparation through the exact observance of the regulations and rule of our Society. Very many (and this is particularly so of those who aspire to the missions) are men devoted to the cross of Christ, ready to undertake arduous tasks for his glory and the salvation of souls. Such do not seek out bodily comforts through the food they eat, the clothes they wear, or the houses where they live. They gladly put up with the discomfort of cold or heat, hunger or thirst. They prepare themselves for all else that may await them on the foreign missions. They have learned to make known Christ—the suffering Christ—not so much by words as by the whole tenor of their life, yes, and by charity unfeigned. Would that I had shown myself a better and a more docile pupil of such eminent teachers!

Two years ago, two of us belonging to the Upper German Province, namely, Father Anthony Cereso (Kerschpamer is his real name) and I, both of us Tyrolese, were designated missionaries. Tyrol is one of the imperial domains. The Spanish king and our Reverend Father General stipulated that all the German missionaries should come either from some imperial province or from a region under Austrian rule. Our Father General's letter to Father Provincial of the Upper German Province regarding our destination in the foreign missions contained the following order: "Your Reverence will send Father Anthony Kerschpamer (now Cereso) and Father Eusebio Kino to Genoa. One is to be assigned to Mexico and the other to the Philippines, just as you decide or they prefer."

Accordingly, Reverend Father Provincial left the choice to Father Anthony and me to determine who should go to Mexico and who to the Philippines or the Marianas. Because of the hope that I then entertained (and had done so for many years) of continuing from the Philippines to China, I wanted to be assigned to the Philippines and have Father Anthony sent to Mexico. Nonetheless, I told Father Anthony to choose the mission which he preferred; he insisted that I make the first choice. After contending for some time in this pious effort to give the other the pref-

erence, we thought of drawing lots to decide our destiny. Accordingly, we wrote "Mexico" on one slip and "Philippines" on the other; on drawing lots, Father Anthony got the "Philippines" and I "Mexico."

At first this seemed a hard blow because the hope that I had entertained of using my mathematical knowledge in China was thereby shattered, but soon peace came to my soul after I had poured out fervent prayer to the Lord and entrusted my destiny to my patron, the angelic Saint Francis Xavier, and to Saint Ignatius and to Mary, wondrous beyond measure, the all-understanding Mother of God. But as a result of this drawing of lots—or rather from this decision of God's wondrous power determining our destiny—it turned out that Father Anthony rather than I is the one who is going to the Orient.

I have commended the outcome to God and continue to do so, in order that if in the voyage to Mexico Father Anthony should become ill and I keep on enjoying good health (as a matter of fact, I have proved thus far a better sailor than my companion)—well, in that case, I would ask, with due deference, of my Mexican superiors to let me take Father Anthony's place in going to the Orient while he recovered his health in Mexico and replaced me in the missions of the Mexican Province. Nonetheless, may the will of the Lord be done; yes, I repeat, may his will be done.

Even if I should remain in Mexico, I would not cease as long as I lived to commend most frequently to the all-merciful Lord both China and the Marianas, whither I long to go; and I would strive by all the means at my disposal to obtain from God and men the sending of reinforcements of holy missionaries to those regions so dear to me. And I hope that in place of my one poor self many missionaries from my Province of Upper Germany will be sent: men endowed with a knowledge of mathematics, with natural and especially supernatural gifts, and with an Ignatian and Xaverian zeal. Father Anthony Cereso, now on his way to those eastern missions, will strive to accomplish the same.

Reverend Father Anthony Maldonado is delighted at obtaining two missionary priests from the Upper German Province for that of Colombia. In several letters he asked Very Reverend Father General for Father Anthony Cereso and me, convinced as he was that we would not be able to set sail very soon for Mexico and the Philippines.

I also most respectfully beg of Your Excellency, and plead by the mercy of our Savior, that when the occasion arises of securing missionaries from Germany, as many as possible be chosen from the Upper German Province. The intense longing that impels many to work and suffer for Christ our Lord and the good of the neighbor and the salvation of souls deserves such consideration. . . .

I am most grateful to Your Excellency for the generous recommendation of me to the Mexican vicereine, which you promise in your letter.[2] Such an introduction will redound at some time, as I trust, to the advantage of the needy. One must make use of both hands and both arms—the material and the spiritual—to effect the salvation of the neighbor and the conversion of souls, the most divine of all divine endeavors.

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[2] Maria Luisa Gonzaga, condesa de Paredes, marquesa de la Laguna; her husband governed Mexico from 1680 to 1686. The viceregal couple were accompanied by eighty servants—sixty-three men for the viceroy and seventeen women for the vicereine—and a chaplain [translator's note].

I am happy to answer Your Excellency's questions about my nationality and country. I am a Tyrolese from the district of Trent, but I am at a loss whether I should consider myself Italian or German. The city of Trent is for the most part Italian in language, ways, and laws, even though it is within at least the outermost rim of Tyrol. Tyrol belongs to Germany; and it is particularly significant that our school at Trent belongs to the Upper German Province, although the Jesuits conduct the classes and usually preach in Italian. For the past eighteen years of my life, however, I lived in almost the heart of Germany; in 1665 I was received at Freiburg (Breisgau) into the Society of Jesus. I am now thirty-seven years old.[3]

I should like to commend myself most respectfully to the good prayers of Your Excellency and those of your sons and daughter. For my part I send them every blessing, wish for them all true happiness resulting from the love of Christ our Lord, and pray that the spirit which characterizes their mother will be reproduced in them; and this for the glory of the Almighty, their own salvation and that of many others, for the benefits of entire communities, and for the great happiness of the entire Church and the Society of Jesus. In order to be daily mindful of the prayerful wishes I have just expressed, as soon as I read Your Excellency's letter, I wrote the children's names on the picture so sacred to me which I keep in my breviary. But that they also may deign to remember me in their good prayers, I am sending three other pictures for Your Excellency's three children. I should be happy to know their titles and age.

Again and again I respectfully commend myself to their fervent aspirations and prayers to the merciful Lord; and wishing them anew every happiness, I promise to apply to the intentions of Your Excellency for the protection of your devoted family the Mass which, God willing, I shall say on the feast of Saint Francis Xavier.

Cádiz, November 16, 1680.

Devotedly yours in Christ,

Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J.,
foreign missionary

P.S. I would deeply appreciate receiving the news items about China in order to forward them to the Upper German Province.

▼

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[3] A word about Kino's linguistic ability. He spoke Italian at home and perfected his knowledge of the literary language in precollege schooling (in Segno and Trent). . . . On the other hand, [he] never so completely mastered Spanish that he could use it without bringing in Italian idioms and constructions. . . .

Kino spent more than fifteen years in the German-speaking lands and communities of Tyrol and Bavaria, making his college and seminary studies in his second language. We have very few texts that would enable us to pass judgment on the accuracy and fluency with which he wrote German. . . . He wrote Latin with amazing ease, discussing in colloquial style the most unclassical and everyday themes. . . .

It is not easy to determine how many Indian languages Kino knew; he dealt with the natives of more than a dozen different tribes, but with many he had to content himself with speaking in little more than signs. . . . [He certainly knew well and used] the Didiu language of California [and f]or nearly a quarter of a century . . . had to use the Pima language daily [translator's note].

The reader of this letter might note especially some of the following points and the questions that they can raise.

- *1. Perhaps the most interesting remark in our present time of diminished vocations is Kino's comment that in the Upper German Province about four hundred students each year seek entrance into the Society, that only about fifteen to eighteen novices are accepted yearly, and that the province had at present—"and such is usually the case"—over two hundred volunteers for the foreign missions. What was the atmosphere in the schools and in the Society itself and what were the religious, psychological, and social circumstances that yielded such numbers?*

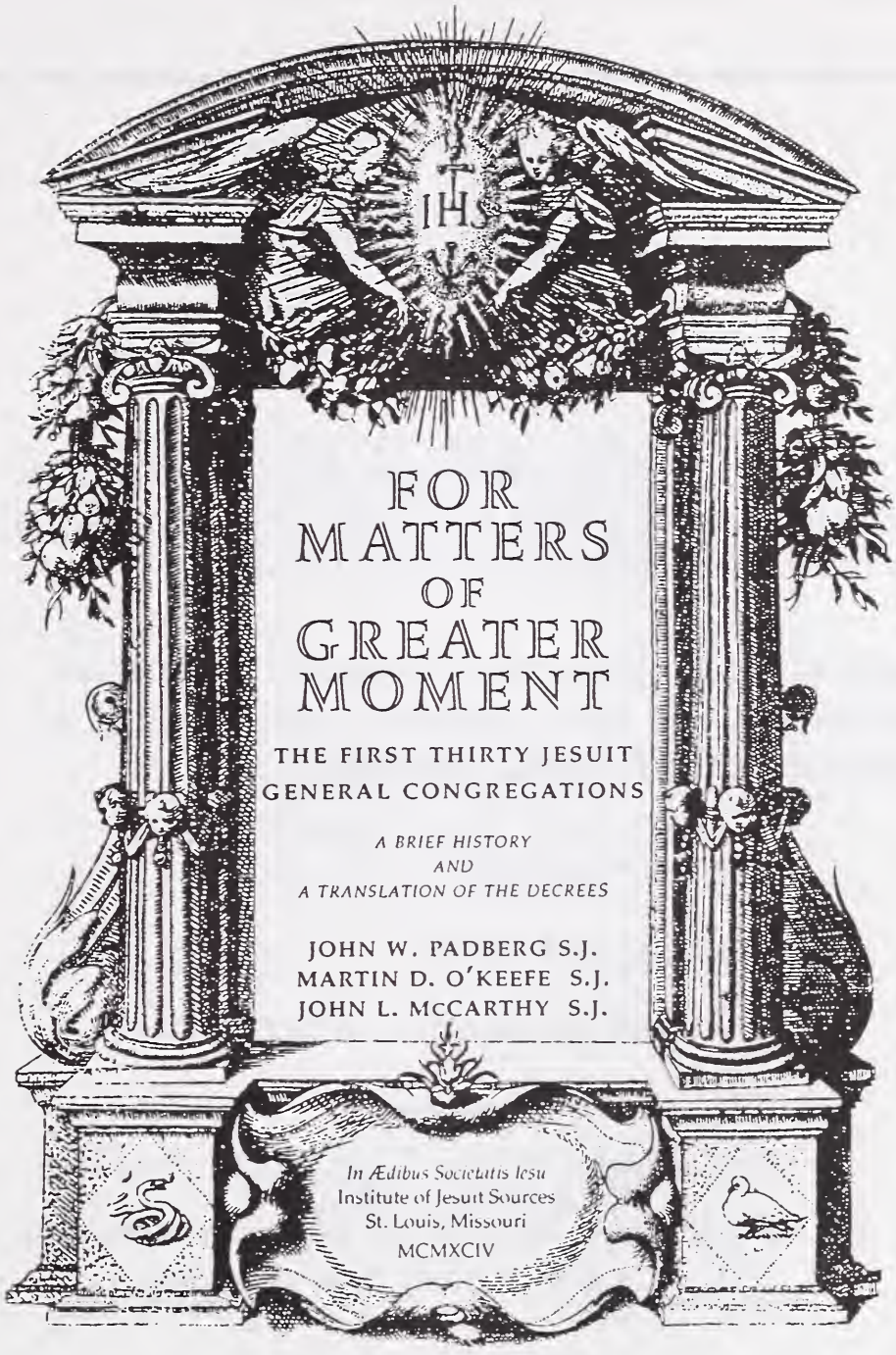
- *2. The mention of lands from Paraguay and Colombia to the Philippines and the Mariana Islands in the Pacific provides a vivid example of the extent of the Spanish possessions at the time. Even today the Marianas can seem remote and hard to reach. How much more was that the case in the seventeenth century and how definitive for a lifetime was a commitment to a missionary career in such a place. One could note, too, how carefully Spain controlled which missionaries could go to those lands, with all the German missionaries coming either from an imperial province or a region ruled by Austria, obviously because these were Hapsburg lands, just as Spain was ruled by a Hapsburg king.*

- *3. To turn to Europe, the size of the Jesuit provinces that Kino mentions is striking: eight hundred men in the Upper German Province, twelve hundred in Bohemia, and fourteen hundred in Austria. Such numbers raise interesting questions. For example, how could an annual account of conscience to a provincial even be possible, given the number of Jesuits, the difficulties of travel, the geographical spread of the province?*

- *4. Such numbers may help to explain an otherwise puzzling fact of history. As we know from other sources, only two out of a total of ninety-one provincials of those three provinces in the fifty years before and the fifty years after this letter ever served as long as five years in that position. Most of them served for only three years; very many served only for one or two years.*

- *5. Another question: If a province of eight hundred members conducted thirty schools, how large was the Jesuit presence in each of those schools, especially in the classrooms? More than half of the province was either in formation or engaged in other apostolates, leaving about four hundred Jesuits to man thirty schools, an average of thirteen or fourteen per school. Yet some of the schools had a very large number of students and obviously had more Jesuits; consequently only a lesser number were available in the other schools. And in every school there were priests and brothers, such as the rector, minister, infirmarian, and carpenter, who would never have been in the classroom; thus there were even fewer Jesuits for that task. Note, too, the "heavy losses" of Jesuits in Austria and Bohemia incurred while they were tending the plague-stricken. We have records of hundreds upon hundreds of Jesuits from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries giving their lives to that work of heroic charity.*

John W. Padberg, S.J.
Editor



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